Wing 1 copy (Dublin)

THE INTEREST of *ENGLAND*,

As it ſtands with Relation to the

TRADE of IRELAND,

CONSIDERED;

The ARGUMEMTS againſt the BILL, for Prohibitting the Exportation of WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES from *IRELAND* to Forreign Parts,

FAIRLY DISCUSST,

And the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of ENGLANDS reſtraining her Colonies in all Matters of Trade, that may be prejudicical to [illegible]wn Commerce,

CLEARLY D[illegible]NSTRATED.

With ſhort Remarques on a book, Entituled, *Some Thoughts on the BILL depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, for Prohibiting the Exportation of the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland to Forreign Parts.*

Re-printed in *Dublin*, and are to be Sold by Mr. *John Foſter*, Book-ſeller in *Skinner-row*, and at the *Fleece* in *Fiſh amble-ſtreet*, 1698.

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As it stands with Relation to the

TRADE of IRELAND, CONSIDERED;

The ARGUMEMTS against the BILL, for Prohibitting the Exportation of WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES from *IRELAND* to Forreign Parts,

FAIRLY DISCUSST,

And the Reasonableness and Necessity of ENGLANDS restraining her Colonies in all Matters of Trade, that may be prejudicical to [illegible] Commerce,

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With short Remarques on [illegible] Entituled, *Some Thoughts on the BILL depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, for Prohibiting the Exportation of the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland to Forreign Parts.*

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R

To the Most Honourable,

JOHN,

MARQUESS

OF

NORMANBY, &c.

My Lord,

I Happened to come into the House of Lords at the time when your Lordships were hearing Council against the Bill, for the Prohibiting the Exportation of Woollen Manufactures from *Ireland* to Forreign Parts; and altho' I was of the Opinion, that the interest of *England* was so nearly Concern'd in that Matter, as that it would appear at first sight to all disinteressed Persons, that there was an absolute Necessity of putting a stop to the growth of such a Manufactury there, which must in it's Natural Consequences ravish from us our Principal Trade, anticipate and divert the Sourse of ur Wealth and Power, and by easie and (at first) imperceptible degrees, exhaust the very Life and Soul of *England*, by drawing away the Working People and Trading Stock: Yet when I came to Observe, that even

192.g.102.(15)

the Committing the Bill did admit of a long arguing in your Honourable Houſe, and was not carried without much Oppoſition, it brought me to Conſider, that how clear ſoever it may ſeem to Men that have been converſant in the Practice of Trade, yet it muſt be a Matter of great Difficulty for your Lordſhips to determine in ſuch things, where the Judgment is directed from Information only, ſince thoſe Informations are generally given with the greateſt partiality: And I know by my own Experience, that any Impreſſions receiv'd from Perſons for whom we have ſome favour or Compaſſion, are apt to create ſo ſtrong a prejudging of the Caſe, that we cannot ſo eaſily diſcern the reaſonableneſs of the contrary Arguments, or ſuffer our ſelves to be Convinc'd without the cleareſt Demonſtrations poſſible. 'Tis therefore, becauſe *I* have thought the Well-being of my Countrey to depend very much upon this Caſe, and that *I* believe it capable of ſo plain a Demonſtration, that *I* have thought it my Duty to endeavour to ſet this Controverſie in ſo true a Light, as that it might not be difficult for your Lordſhips to make a right Judgment therein.

I have indeed been ſo far from concerning my ſelf in this matter hitherto, as that *I* have not ſo much as ſeen the Bill, and therefore *I* ſhall not pretend to meddle with the Methods taken therein; my Deſign being only to ſhew the Neceſſity there is upon us to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch Manufacturies in *Ireland*, which directly interfere with thoſe of *England*; to evince which, *I* ſhall offer a few Propoſitions, which *I* take to be ſo evident, as that they will admit of no Controverſie.

1. That *England* hath no other means of procuring Riches, then by vending a greater Value of her Commodities

dities in Forreign Markets, than what ſhe expends in Merchandizes imported from abroad.

2. That the far greater Value of the Exportations of *England* ariſes from her Woollen Manufactures.

3. That *England* hath always been able to ſend as much of her Woollen Manufacturies abroad, as could be vended in Forreign Markets.

4. That whatſoever Country can afford their Manufacturies cheapeſt, muſt infallibly gain the Trade from that Countrey that cannot work ſo cheap.

5. That *Ireland* is able to make many of the ſame kinds of Woolen Manufactures cheaper than *England* and therefore will never want a Vent for them in Forreign Markets.

6. That the whole Quantity of ſuch Manufactures, which *Ireland* ſhall ſupply in Forreign Markets, will hinder the Sale of ſo much from *England*, and conſequently the whole Value thereof will be ſo much clear Loſs to *England*.

7. That whatſoever Number of People ſhall be employed in this Trade in *Ireland*, the ſame Number of our Manufacturers muſt ſit ſtill in *England*.

8. That ſuch People to avoid ſtarving at home, will go to *Ireland* for Work, by which means the Woollen Manufactury in *Ireland* may ſoon come to be greater than that in *England*, and in time the whole Trade would moſt probably be Eſtabliſht there, and loſt here.

The fatal Conſequences that flow from theſe Premiſes, are too obvious to need further Illuſtration here; but the matter will yet appear more plain, when I come to anſwer the Arguments which have been offered againſt the Bill; To which *I* proceed.

1ſt. *That the Government of* England *have at ſeve-*

ral times given Encouragement to the ſettling a Woolen Manufactury in Ireland, *and therefore 'twould be very unreaſonable, after they have with great Charge and Difficulty brought the ſame to ſome Perfection, to deſtroy it at once, and ruin the Undertakers.*

I anſwer, That (ſuppoſing this to be true) former times might not ſee through all the *Inconveniencies* that might accrew to *England* by ſettling a Woolen Manufactury in *Ireland*, or perhaps they intended that encouragement only to capacitate them to make Clothing for themſelves, but not to enable them to interfere with *England* in it's Forreign Trade; for certainly our Anceſtors who prohibited the ſending their Wools to Forreign Parts, never intended to enable them to ſend the Manufactures made thereof, which would do us a far greater Damage. But as *England* hath always ſhewn her Parental Care over all her Colonies, in being ready to give them all the Encouragement neceſſary to their Well being; ſo She ought alſo to Exert her Power in reſtraining them, when She finds them Enterprizing any thing that may prove Injurious to her ſelf; and in this She is juſtifi'd as well by Reaſon, as by the *Practice* of all Nations that have Planted Colonies. As to the Undertakers, the leaſt compaſſion poſſible is due to them, becauſe (as they are thought to be Engliſh-men) they ought not to have deſigned their own Intereſt, ſo much to the detriment of *England*, and they may find out ways enough to employ their Stocks, without injuring the Publick.

2. *That 'tis the Intereſt of* England *to Encourage the increaſe of Riches in* Ireland, *that it may be in the better Condition to contribute to it it's own Support upon any exegencies, and leſſen the Charge of* England.

This is a very true Argument, and will run on all four when rightly apply'd; but there is an unhappy Diſtinction

ſtinction that makes it downright Lame in this Caſe; for there is a vaſt Difference between *Irelands* gaining wealth, by any way of Induſtry peculiar to themſelves and in offenſive to *England*; and their incroaching upon that Trade, which is the only way by which *England* can attract Riches; for 'tis plain that all they ſhall gain thereby, will be a clear Loſs to us, and that 'twere better for us to Maintain them in ſitting ſtill, than to ſuffer them to work in ſuch a way as muſt undo us. This would diſable us to give them the neceſſary Succours in time of need, and they would hereby cut the Prop that Supports them.

3. *That by putting down this Manufactury, the Poor of* Ireland *will be Deſtitute of Work, many Familys would be Ruined, and an unreaſonable hardſhip put upon a Country, but juſt recovering it ſelf after a Deſtructive War.*

'Tis Anſwer enough, ſince this is but the beginning of a new Buſineſs, to ask how they lived before? But 'tis certain that the Poor of *Ireland* do ſubſiſt very eaſily: Lands are very Cheap (perhaps not one * eighth part of the Value of ours, generally ſpeaking) and Proviſions of all Kinds in great plenty. A Cow or two of ten Shillings Price, and a Potatoe Garden, will Support a Family, meaning of ſuch as are next to Poverty; but he that can Rent ten Pound *per Annum*, may keep two Diſhes of Meat at his Table the Year round; ſo that no Body can want a livelyhood there, that will but exert the leaſt Induſtry; whereas in *England* the Working People are very numerous, Land and Proviſions

* A Gentleman who liv'd in the County of *Kerry*, told me, that for about 13 *l. per Annum*, Rack Rent he had Land enough to keep 50 Head of Black Cattle, and breed more Corn than his Family could ſpend.

visions extreamly dearer: Many thousands Depend wholly on the Manufacturies, and cannot live of themselves when they are not employ'd. This Manufactury, (meaning that for Transportation) is yet but growing in *Ireland*, and few Hands (in Comparison to the Multitude that live by it in *England*) are yet employed in it; so that the Disappointment cannot at this time be great to them; but if we should Suffer it to continue longer, the great Encouragement will make it grow so considerably, as that the effects will soon become so visible in *England*, that necessity will compel us to put a stop to it, & then the Hardship will seem so much the more to the People of *Ireland*; by how much the greater numbers have brought themselves to Depend upon that way of Living. 'Tis true indeed, that the People of *Ireland* have endured great Hardships by the War; but 'tis as certain, that they have been re-establisht in the quiet enjoyment of their Lands and Possessions, at a great Expence of the Blood and Treasure of *England*; and I believe, if those very Gentlemen of *Ireland*, that are now so zealous in solliciting against this Bill, had been told, when they were under the extremity of the War, that there would be a necessity upon us, for the securing that Trade from whence we deriv'd our principal Subsistence, and the Capacity to help them in time of need, to prohibit their Interfereing with us in our Woolen Manufacturies; they would then have assented to the reasonableness of it, as a Respect justly due to their Protectors.

4. *That the quantities they make, are so inconsiderable, as that it cannot hurt* England; *that there is no Probability of their increasing the Trade to any great Degree, and that a great part of the Workmanship there is so dear, as that they cannot make their Goods much cheaper there than in* England.

Ever

Every one Knows that the greateſt Undertakings proceed from ſmall Beginnings, but that when the firſt Difficulties are overcome, they eaſily go on, an increaſe in a much greater Proportion than the firſt appearance. Before the War, they came in four Years, to export in the laſt Year 11360 pieces, and ſince the Reduction of *Ireland* they are in four Years come to above 40000 pieces, notwithſtanding the Hindrances of the War; and it may be remarkt, that they advanced from 2000 and upward in the Year 1695 to above 4000 in 1696. Thus much they acknowledge; and theſe are not ſhort ſteps. They can never want a ready Sale for all they can make, becauſe they Sell cheaper than we; Plenty of Work will attract plenty of Workmen, theſe will take as many Apprentices as they can Employ; in ſeven Years the Apprentices will become Maſters, and in three Years more even their Apprentices will become able Workmen; who can doubt but by that time (or a little longer) their increaſe (with thoſe alſo that to come them from *England* (will be enough to Manufacture all the Wools of *Ireland*. But I'll ſuppoſe for Argument ſake, that they make but to the value of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds yearly, and that they would not Sell for more than Ten Pounds *per Cent.* cheaper than *England* uſualy doth; ſuppoſing alſo, that *England* ſends abroad the value but of one Million yearly, of Goods of the like Kinde 'twill be eaſily granted me, that if any one Offers his Goods cheaper than the uſual Price, that will then become the Market-Price, and every one elſe muſt Sell at the ſame or Keep his Goods: By this 'tis plain, that *England* muſt abate 100000 *l.* out of the former value of her Million, for the ſake of *Ireland*'s 100000 *l.* and then ſhe looſes another 100000 *l.* by *Ireland*'s taking that Money in the Markets,

Markets, which *England* ſhould otherwiſe ſolely furniſh: So that 'tis clear from this Conſideration, if no more were to be ſaid to it; That 'twere more advantagious to *England* by the one half, to Buy theſe Goods and Throw them into the Sea, than to ſuffer *Ireland* to Sell cheaper than we can in Forreign Markets. But the arguing, that Weaving and ſome other Parts of the Workmanſhip is as dear as in *England*, is a perfect Fallacy; for beſides that, they only Suggeſt it without Proof, yet if it were ſo at the firſt attempting ſuch a Manufactury, that could only be occaſioned through the ſcarcity of Workmen, but would every Year grow cheaper as thoſe Workmen ſhould encreaſe, and enough is ſaid above, to ſhew that that will be the Infallible Conſequences of an Encouraging Trade; and ſince I may modeſtly affirm that Proviſions are not (generally ſpeaking) at above half the Price there, to what they are in *England*, and labour holding always in Proportion thereto, 'tis not unreaſonable to expect that they will in time come to work at leaſt one third cheaper than we can, and if they ſhould make as much as they can then Sell for 200000 *l.* that will be equal in Quantity to our 300000 *l.* and abate ſo much out of the Sale of our Million, and then by the Fall in Price, the remaining 700000 *l.* would yeild but 466666 $\frac{1}{2}$ *l.* So that 'tis plain, that if *Ireland* gains Riches by this Trade, 'twill be at the Expence of impoveriſhing *England*. I cannot but Remark here, that the main Body of the Solicitors againſt this Bill, conſiſted in Gentlemen, Poſſeſſors of Lands in *Ireland*, who though they may be excuſed from having any nice Underſtanding in a matter of Trade (as this properly is) yet it ſeems they have eaſily learnt, that the flowriſhing of their new Manu-

 factury,

factury, would cauſe the Lands of *Ireland* to riſe, to which without Doubt, 'tis their intereſt to have more reguard, than to the keeping up the value of the Lands of *England*, which by this Method of inticeing away its Mouths, would certainly Fall in value as faſt as thoſe in *Ireland* ſhould riſe.

5. *That the high Duties payable upon all Woollen Manufactures brought into* England, *amount to a prohibition of the* Iriſh; *and that if it were intended that theirs ſhould be brought hither, the Duties ought to be moderated ſo, as to bear but a juſt proportion to what they can work cheaper.*

I will be ſo free as to acknowledge, that I believe the Houſe of Commons intended no leſs by this Bill, than the ſuppreſſing all Exportation of Woollen Manufactures from *Ireland*, and the utter diſcouraging the Progreſs of that Trade there; but to lay ſuch a Duty as might at preſent ſeem equal to the difference of Workmanſhip, would utterly defeat that intent: For, as I have noted before, they may ſoon come to work ſo much lower then they now do, as that they may be able to bring their Goods into *England* at ſo ſmall a Duty, and be encourag'd to keep on their Manufactury there, which though by this means it may not ſo much prejudice our Forreign Trade, by beating down the Prices; yet it will have its full effect in taking away the Employment of our Mannfacturers, and drawing them into *Ireland*; and, as was truly ſaid by their own Council, would indeed lower the value of the Woollen Goods on the Makers here: Though by the way, I think that could be no argument in their Favour, Moreover, what aſſurance can we have, but that if they are ſuffered to make ſuch Goods there, they may ſhip them for Forreign

reign Parts by ſtealth, without paying any duty at all? The Manufacture being of much leſs bulk than the Wools, which they tell us plainly, will be apt to be ſent for *France*, if they be debarr'd from working it up there; though I dought not but that if our Legiſlature will exert its Power, it may be ſmart enough with them to prevent both.

6 *That their Undertaking doth not interfere with the main Branch of our Manufactuary, the Cloathing-Trade, but that they do yet continue to buy great Quantities of Cloth from us.*

This indeed is true at preſent, but when they ſhall have conſiderably encreas'd the number of their Workmen, and brought their People into the way of working their wools, who can doubt but that they will be at that alſo? their Conteſt indeed now is only in relation to what we commonly call the New-Drapery, conſiſting of Bays, Serges and Stuffs, which makes up a mighty part of our Exportations, and the Injury they will come to do us therein cannot be leſs than what I have before noted; to which I might add, that *Ireland* affords us great Quantities of that ſort we call long Wool for Combing, of which thoſe Goods are made, and if they ſhall work it up themſelves, the wanting of that Supply will be very ſenſible to us.

Theſe are the moſt material Objections againſt the Bill that occur to my Memory, and I hope I have fairly anſwer'd them: But that I may give a full View of the whole Controverſie in its true ſhape, *I will* (after the old way of arguing) repreſent it by a Simile.

A good old Gentleman: Poſſeſſor of great Tracts of Land abounding in plenty of all things fit for life, but

eſpecially in the greateſt Quantity of Sheep of any in his whole Country, happily fell into the way of Manufacturing his Wools, in which he became ſo ſucceſsful as to be able to out-do all other People, and furniſh all his Neighbours with the greateſt part of what they us'd; by which means he was not only capacitated to ſupport a very numerous Family, but alſo attracted to himſelf great Riches, and became equal in Power to moſt of his Neighbours; he had ſetled his eldeſt Son in a very conſiderable part of his Eſtate at a diſtance from him which he had formerly gain'd by Conqueſt, giving him the full Liberty of enjoying all the Product of an abundant Soyl, only reſerving this advantage to himſelf, that what Wool the Son ſhould have to ſpare above the Quantity which he ſhould need for the cloathing his own Family, he ſhould be oblig'd to ſell to the Father, and not to any other Perſon, becauſe that would extreamly injure him in his Woollen Manufactury Buſineſs, which was the main Support of his Eſtate. The Son liv'd plentifully, and flouriſht greatly, only the ancient Poſſeſſors of the Eſtate (who were a very numerous Family) being compell'd by the Power of the Father to live in ſubjection under him, were apt to take frequent occaſions to give him great diſturbance, and by reaſon of their numbers ſometimes prevail'd againſt him; yet he was always readily aſſiſted by the Father, who never fail'd by the ſtrength of his Purſe and Power, to ſubdue his Enemies, and to reſettle him in the quiet Enjoyment of his Eſtate. The laſt Inſurrection they made was by far the greateſt becauſe they were aſſiſted by a very potent Neighbour, and it coſt the Father a mighty Sum to quell it. But the Son was no ſooner ſettled in quiet, but he ſets his People to work upon making the

ſame

ſame kinds of Woollen Manufacturies which was the Father's Trade, and ſends them to the ſame Markets for *Sale*; the **Father** is juſtly offended at this, and foreſeeing the great *Injury* which the Son's going on in ſuch a Trade would prove to him, reſolves to put a ſtop to it; the *Son* complains mightily againſt this alledging that 'tis unreaſonable to deprive him of ſuch means to enrich himſelf, and that if he be denied this way, 'twould become a Temptation to his Tenants and People to ſell the Wools to others; upon which the Father beſpeaks him after this manner, *Son*, thou knoweſt well that my Charge and Expence is very great, having many other Children to provide for beſides thy ſelf, and that it hath coſt me vaſt Summs to protect thee in the Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate which *I* have given thee, which is ſufficient to give thee a very abundant Subſiſtence without thy interfering with me in my peculiar Trade, which thou ſeeſt is the only way *I* have to gain Wealth, and to enable me to ſupport all my Children, of which thou haſt always been the moſt chargeable to me, and yet thou haſt often been ready to make uſe of the advantages which thy profitable Portion hath given thee to encroach upon me, not only in my Woollen, but alſo in ſome other parts of my Trade, which *I* could not ſpare thee; and therefore if thou wilt not have a due Sence of my *Intereſt*, and conſider how much thy own is concern'd in it, aſſure thy ſelf that *I* will take that care of my own Affairs, as to uſe my paternal Power to reſtrain thee in all ſuch matters of Trade, which I ſhall find inconſiſtent with my well-being. And although I ſhall always be willing to encourage thee in any thing that tends not to my own hurt; yet if thou ſhalt not deſiſt from ſending thy Woollen Goods to the Markets, which

which *I* have of long time been us'd to furnish, *I* will by my Authority take from thee all thy Wooll combers, and prohibit that any such Trade shall be exercis'd in thy Family for the Future, thereby to incapacitate thee from making those Commodities, with which thou canst do me so much huat, And if thou shalt not be careful to keep thy People from selling their Wool to Strangers *I* will send Officers to keep an exact Regiſtry of all thy Sheep, and secure thy Wool in Ware-houses as it is shorn, that it may not be in thy Power to deal fradulently by me in an Affair which so nearly concerns me.

I am yet no Enemy to the People of *Ireland*, and wish them all the Prosperity that can Consist with the Well being of *England*: *I* own it is our *Interest*, that they should grow Rich, but not by such means as will sooner *Impoverish* us than Advance them. *I* believe it would be a useful Policy, and worth the care of *England*, to Promote any such manufacturies in *Ireland* as may not Jar with ours, whereby the People there may not only Gain Wealth, but even the multitude of *Irish* be drawn into a more civilized way of Liveing, which would tame them faster than any Severities we can use; for a People brought into a settled and profitable way of living, would soon come to a better Understanding, than to be apt to quit their Ease and Profit at every Call of the Turbulent Gentry and their Priests. The Country is every way fit for a Linnen Manufactury, and wants nothing but a Stock to establish it; Private Undertakers are commonly too weak to strugle with the Difficulties that attend the Beginnings of great Undertakings, but the mighty Publick would easily go through with it. It would be Money well employed if the Government

men to *England* lent them 100000 *l.* to eſtabliſh it, and though we may not be in a condition to do it at preſent, yet I hope ſuch a thought may not be forgotten when we can better ſpare it. The Objection, that our Neighbour Nations of whom we now buy our Linnen would be offended at it, and refuſe to take our Manufactures, I take to be wrong Notion: The alterations, and Charge of Trade are not uncommon, and move by degrees not ſoon to be obſerv'd: If we again buy Linnen in *France* as before the War *Germany* muſt take leſs of our Money, yet, as many other Nations deal with them for it, their Trade will go on, and the many diſtant Countries from whence 'tis brought to the Markets at *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*, if they are ſenſible of ſome leſſening of their Vent, will ſcarce reflect directly upon the Cauſe, or if they ſhould ſuch Reſentments are not apt to be of any conſequence; the People muſt have Woollen Cloaths, and no Body can furniſh them with our ſorts upon equal Terms with us, if we do but manage our Trade as we are able; and 'tis evident that People will not eaſily be diverted from what they have been us'd to and like, witneſs our continuing in the full uſe of *French* Goods before the War, when they had as it were prohibited ousr. And though this Caution hath been often urg'd in Diſcourſes of Trade,

yet I never knew one instance of any Nations being piqued at another to such a degree, as to break off their Commerce; though I have known several instances of such occasions given. Some prevailing reguard, either to the benefit of the Customs, the Profit of the Merchants, or the like, is always had; so that Governments seem to be steer'd by this Principle, That if they cannot Vend in Trade as much as they would, they will yet continue to sell what they can, and acquiesce with the Shop keepers Rule, That Custom is no inheritance, if they loose one Chap-man, they get another, and measure not their Trade by Particulars, but in the general. I have enlarg'd upon this point even to a Digrassion, because I was willing to take this Opportunity to offer my Semtiments upon it, for that I have upon divers occasions thought that Argument to have been us'd rather to serve a turn, than for any real Weight there was in it, and that I think we ought not to have any consideration of it, in taking the measure which seems otherwise to be convenient for us.

My *Lord*,

Your Lordship's Extraordinary Understanding in the right Notions of the Trade of *England*, your Readiness at all times to espouse its Interest, and the Condescentions which you have upon some former Occasions shewn, in deigning to receive Information in things of this nature from a Person as inconsiderable as I am, hath given me the Confidence to suggest my Thoughts in this important Business to your Lordship, and I assure my self that your Lordship will have so much regard to the Sincerity of my Intentions, as to excuse the Imperfections of the Performance, and pardon the Boldness of this Address, from

My LORD,

Your Lordships most Obedient,

Humble Servant.

REMARKS

REMARKS

Upon a BOOK, *Entituled*,

me Thoughts on the BILL *depending*, &c.

Had written the foregoing Papers in the Country, and coming o Town to put them in the Preſs, I met with a Book, Entitu- *Some Thoughts on a Bill depending before the Honourable ſe of Lords*, &c. And although *I* am cut ſhort in time, yet ll beſtow a few Remarks upon it; notwithſtanding that *I* think main points in Controverſie, are ſufficiently argu'd in the fore- ng Diſcourſe. *I* will acknowledge that the Author hath a pretty nuating way of Writing and a good turn of Thought, but his l ſeems ill beſtow'd upon ſo wrong a Subject, it looks like fire wing upon a Thred bare Coat, the Wooll is worn off and the t won't be covered.

f the Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland* ſpend good part of their E- es in *England* 'tis their own choice, and the Product of their ter, Leather, Raw-hides, Tallow, *&c.* which they ſend to Neighbouring Countries of *Europe*, and of the vaſt Quantities Proviſions ſent to the Plantations, their Wool, Flax, s, *&c.* to *England* is ſufficient, to bear that Expence, moreover to pay for all the mighty value of Commodities which ays they buy from us; and this is largely prov'd by the current Exchange between us, a Guinea paſſes there for 26 *s.* which is 20 *per Cent*, difference in the *par* of the Money; but as the *mio* of the Exchange hath of late been under, that ſhews that Ballance of the Trade muſt be in their Favour. If much of r Trade be carried on by *Engliſh* Stocks, yet the People are paid their Commodities, and the Profit they receive thereby may be ouragement enough for them, if they can be content when are well.

lis Computation of the great profit they are to *England*, is at lom, do we not deſerve the utmoſt profit they can yeild? and all little in conſideration of the vaſt charge we have been at to pro- them in the poſſeſſion of ſuch mighty Landed Eſtates which enjoy.

God be thanked, that the Kingdom of *Ireland* is competently repleniſht with *Engliſh* Inhabitants, and they are again in a flouriſhing Condition, notwithſtanding the Deſolations of the late War; but to perſwade us to encourage the ſending of more numbers of People thither than we can well ſpare, will ſcarce take with us; for if their Strengthning that Country would be of advantage to them, their remaining here is much more ſo to us, and 'tis better for us to have People to ſpare to ſend to their Aſſiſtance upon Occaſions than for us to to need help from them. As for their leaving the Country, if we ſhould lay difficulties upon them, (as he calls it) or of their joyning with any other Intereſt than that of *England*; how extravagant is it to imagine, that thoſe People ſhould be ſo eaſily piqu'd into a leaving their Settlements there? when 'tis certain that he that hath 1000 l. *per Annum* there, can live more plentifully than upon 500 *l. per Annum* in *England*, & yet his 100 l. *per Annum* would yeild him but 1000 *l.* in Money, and that will buy him but 50 l. *per Annum* in *England*, a fine Exchange: Such another 'twould be, to quit the Government of *England* to put themſelves under that of *France*, (for no body elſe can protect them.) But theſe Thoughts are abominable, and the inſinuation is a Crime againſt, and a moſt unreaſonably Reflection upon the worthy *Engliſh* Gentlemen of *Ireland*, for whom 'twould be impoſſible to degenerate into ſo much *Iriſh* Underſtanding, and ſo little love to their Mother Country: But 'tis a ſufficient indication of a hard cauſe when Men are put to their Shifts for Arguments, and forc't to hall them in by the Neck and Shouldiers, as hath been this Gentleman's caſe in almoſt all that he hath us'd.

They are not contending for Power or great Riches, they

they neither Trade to *East India*, *Turky* or *Africa*, they have neither *Hamborough*, *Hudsons-Bay*, *Greenland* or *Russia* Company; very fine, and have not the Subjects of *England* been debarr'd from the same Trades, except they would buy Stock in the Companies? and might not the People of *Ireland* if they had Money to spare, come in upon the same Terms? Let them say no more of this, their Merchants are no way restrain'd more than the People of *England*, they may send Ships from thence to all parts of the World, or concern themselves in any Adventures in Trade with as much freedom as our selves, they cannot indeed bring some kinds of Merchandize directly for *Ireland*, no more can we.

They have no Fleets or Plantations: What Colonys ever had? What an Exclamation follows next? as if they were forbid the Benefit of Earth and Air, and the Libertys allow'd by the Law of Nature, which have never been denyed by the greatest Conqerors: Do they not freely enjoy Earth and Air? have they not liberty to send abroad their Native Commodities? May they not Manufacture what they have Occasion for of their own Product? yet because they must not bring their Cattel or Provisions to *England*, (though they may send as much as they can spare to our Plantations) and undersell the Staple Commodities of *England* in Forreign Markets, they are undone. 'Tis Evident that *England* hath been sufficiently put to it to support her Government, and notwithstanding all the Advantages she can raise by her Trade and otherwise, she is involv'd in a very great Debt; and for her to suffer *Ireland* to ruine the Trade of her Manufactures, would indeed be the ready way to undoe her.

His distinction of Colonies for Trade and Colonies

for Empire, is contriv'd on purpoſe to ſit *Ireland*; but by his good leave, are not all Colonies upon the ſame foot of keeping the Natives in Subjection, where there are any under their Juriſdiction? to ſay nothing of ours on the Continent of *America*, where altho' we treat the *Indians* more civilly than as a conquer'd People, yet there's reaſon enough to ſay that we are oblig'd to keep them in Subjection; the *Dutch* have many Collonies in *India*, where they keep the *Incolæ* in Subjection, and yet they don't give them Liberty to ſend their Spices and other natural Product to what Markets they pleaſe, but they do reſtrain their whole Trade to their Mother Country, and not only they, but all other Countries that have had Colonies (ſince the Encreaſe and Underſtanding of Trade) do (as far as I have ever heard) in Fact contradict this Aſſertion of his, and I believe *Ireland* hath the greateſt Liberty in that reſpect of any Colony in the World.

He inſinuates, that if *Ireland* ſhould be debarr'd from making Woollen Manufactures, yet *England* muſt not expect to reap the whole Benefit, *Holland*, *Scotland*, *Venice*, *Germany* and *France*, pretend alſo to the Woollen Manufacture and will vye with us. I ſay theſe Countries do not interfere wih us any thing conſiderably in the greateſt part of our ſorts of Goods, and if we do but come to ſo good a management of our Trade as we are capable, we ſhall be able to maintain it beyond them, and none but *Ireland*, by her having Wools annd Work cheaper, can ſpoil us. But I wonder the Gentleman hath never heard of any Nations beſids *Spain* and *Portugal*, with whom *Ireland* hath deals for Manufactures; it ſeems as if neither himſelf, nor thoſe that inſtructed him were acquainted with the practice of Trade; for

'tis

'tis certain that *Ireland* ſends more Woollen Goods to *Holland* and *Flanders*, than to any other Countries.

In all that he ſays, to cloud the Buſineſs of their Working cheaper, he is as ill employ'd as if he were blowing Feathers againſt the Wind, his Arguments flye back in his Face. 'Tis not worth my while to trace his long Inſinuations, I have ſaid enough to that Point in the former Diſcourſe; if he Diſputes againſt Principles I have done with him: Nothing leſs can be offer'd in this Caſe, than to prove, that Proviſions are not cheaper in *Ireland* than in *England*; that plenty of work, and good Pay in one Countrey, will not draw Work-men from a Neighbour Countrey where they are very plenty, and work is ſcarce, that thoſe very Work-men will never be perſwaded to abate of the high Wages which was at firſt given them, although their Numbers ſhould increaſe to ever ſo many, and Proviſions be ſo cheap, that they could live very well at Half-Wages. But beyond all, to Clench it, he ought to demonſtrate to us plainly, that 'tis not becauſe *Ireland* ſells cheaper than *England*, that Merchants leave us, and come to them to buy other Woollen Goods beſides their Stokings, Stuffs and Frizes, but 'tis for ſome pretty charm which they have to attract them, though the incident Charges be a little higher there than here. But who can forbear his pretty compariſon of the Labour of the Blacks and the Artificers in the *Weſt-Indies*? can the Labour of a Slave bear any proportion but to that of another Slave, but he may be aſſured that the proportion between the Labour of the common Labourer, that is a Freeman, and the Artificer, is much the ſame in the *Weſt-Indies* as it is in other Countries.

To tell us of driving away the People from *Ireland* is

but

but a Bugbear, the very profits of the Lands in *Ireland* is Encouragement enough, not only to keep the People that are there, but to draw more to them; and where's a Tradesman to be found in *Ireland*, who after he hath rais'd any Stock to spare, doth not fall to buying or renting Lands, in which they find their Improvements as easie as in other ways?

We need not be scar'd from making such Laws as we think requisite for restraining *Ireland* in matters of Trade for fear of their Remissness to execute them, or their smuggling with *France* and *Scotland*, as he suggests; but he might have let that alone, if we can't enforce the Execution of our own Laws, or make what further Laws they may give us occasion, for the keeping *Ireland* in a due Decorum, 'tis our own Faults. And for their agreeing to spend none but their own Manufactures at home; we know they are a very Genteel People, and perhaps can't hold long in so moody a Temper, but if they should, that were a Trifle in comparison, to their spoiling our whole Trade with the rest of the World; neither could they do even that, if we should in a solemn manner tell them and the whole World, that they shall not manufacture any of their own Product. ('tis his own Words) And his suggesting that we may be as ready to dash the Linnen-Manufacture, or any other Improvements which they may bring to perfection, is a Reflection which *England* doth not deserve from them, for tho' she must always retain her Authority, to deal with her Colonies in all such matters as her own Prudence shall direct; yet she hath always had an easie Rein upon them, and given such Liberties which ought not to be sleighted to the degree this Gentleman does; and may be a sufficient assurance to them, that so kind a Mother will

will never put any unneceſſary difficulties upon them, but will always promote them in every thing that is not unreaſonably injurious to her ſelf; eſpecially ſince 'tis her Intereſt as well as delight, to ſee them flouriſh under her Care and Protection. His gentle way of deſtroying their manufactures by ſecret Diſcouragements, and to let it decline by degrees, *&c.* looks more like a Wheedle than a practical Project.

After all I muſt acknowledge that the Author ha h ſhewn abundance of Ingenuity in the penning thoſe Papers, and whoſoever ſhall obſerve how he hath manag'd ſo bad a Subject to the higheſt advantage, it was capable of, will believe that in this I do not flatter him; and if he ſhould think fit to employ his Ability in framing ſome practicable Scheme, for the incorporating *Ireland*, (and if he could take in *Scotland* alſo) with *England*, ſo as that the whole Empire might as far as poſſible, be conjoyn'd in one entire Intereſt, and be ſteer'd by one United *Grand Council*; I believe his performance therein would be much more agreeable. and when he ſhall have conſidered that matter throughly, I doubt not but that he may come to be of the ſame Opinion with me, that even under ſuch an Union, the well-being of the whole could not be conſerv'd, without the laying ſome neceſſary Reſtriction upon the Parts, according to his own Inſtance of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, where he acknowledges that 'tis the Intereſt of the whole Kingdom beſides to prohibit their Wooll from going to *France*.

To Conclude, as this Gentleman hath given us his Definition and Diſtinction of Colonies, I'll take the Freedom to offer my Opinion, under what predicaments all Colonies whatſoever, without any diſtinction, are to be conſidered; which if it may be admitted, will perpetually determine this Controverſie in the Judgment of all reaſonable Men.

Firſt, That the planting of all Colonies is by permiſſion, and in ſubſervience to the Conveniences of the Mo her Country. Se-

Secondly, That all the free Planters go by their own Consent, and must be subject to the Conditions of their settlement, as long as they remain in the Colony, but that themselves or their Posterity may return at their pleasure, and enjoy all the priviledges of their Native Countrey.

Thirdly, That for their Encouragement; Lands and Priviledges are granted them upon very easie terms, whereby they may be enabled to subsist more comfortably than their Circumstances could admit them in their own Country.

Fourthly, That their proper Business is to cultivate the Lands, and raise the Product which that Country will yeild.

Fifthly, That no permission is granted them for Forreign Trade, but such as their Mother-Country shall from time to time see fit, because as the care and charge of protecting them in the Enjoyment of their Possessions is always incumbent upon her, 'tis not reasonable that she should divest her self from the Priviledge of reaping such advantages by them therein, as their Conditions can afford.

Sixthly, That they may never look upon themselves to be out of the Power of the Legislature of their Mother Country, but that they ought to pay an entire Obedience to all such Laws as she shall make respecting them.

'Tis for want of these considerations, that Men take the liberty to argue so passionately (not to say indecently) upon the Case now depending; but if it will not be granted, that it must always be of the Essence of a Colony, to be under such Regulations, I see no room to distinguish between the Mother Country and its Colony, which were absurd to think. And since I see they are so apt to be forgetful of their Duty upon all such occasions, I could wish our Government would think fit, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*, to ordain, that an Inscription of the purport following, should be always set up in the Parliament House in *Ireland*, and in the Houses of Assembly in all our other Colonies, to be read the first thing every Day of their Sessions:

Let us always remember, that this Island (or Province) is a Colony; that England *is our Mother Country; that we are ever to expect Protection from her in the Possession of our Lands; which we are to cultivate and improve for our own subsistence and Advantage, but not to Trade to or with any other Nation without her Permission; and that 'tis our incumbent Duty to pay Obedience to all such Laws as she shall Enact concerning Us.*

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